

SPEECHES

OF

GEN. GEORGE B. M^CCLELLAN

DURING THE

RESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1876.

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SPEECH AT DAYTON, OHIO,

OCTOBER 7, 1876.

MY FRIENDS,—Never having had occasion to address so large an assemblage upon purely political subjects, I should have hesitated to appear had it not been for the assurance that there are many among you who would be glad to see me, and that my presence might have some slight influence upon the approaching election. The issues at stake are so great that at such a time as this no one who loves his country has any right to consult his own convenience, but is in honor bound to do whatever may be in his power to increase the chances of success of that party to which he conscientiously believes the government of the country should be intrusted. There are many reasons why I am glad to respond to the call that has brought me here.

When the late war broke out, I was a resident of Ohio, and count many of my best friends among your citizens. The first commission I held during the war was

that of major-general of the Ohio volunteers. My first duty was the command of your State—the care of its defense and the organization of its troops. Under my orders the Ohio troops first went under fire, and under my command they and their gallant comrades from Indiana achieved those early successes that preserved Western Virginia to the Union and rendered secure the frontier of Ohio.

In subsequent operations of the war also Ohio troops were under my command. It is natural, therefore, that I should feel a peculiar interest in those men whom I first saw pouring into the capital of the State as a body of undrilled, unorganized citizens—merely brave, patriotic, law-abiding men, who took up arms from the highest motives of duty and patriotism, leaving, without a thought for themselves, all they held dear in life, and thinking only of the danger of their country, and whom I saw, later on, changed into gallant veterans, equal to any emergency, capable of coping with any foe.

I knew also that in the admirable home provided by the nation's gratitude for the war-worn soldiers I should find many of the brave veterans of that Army of the Potomac to which I owe so much.

The hope of meeting again some of the survivors of these heroic comrades chiefly brought me here ; for I felt sure that, however some of us may be separated by lines of party politics, all would receive with kindness their first commander, who never had aught but the kindest thoughts for them, and that they would at least listen respectfully to whatever he might say upon subjects interesting us all in common.

The election which is to take place in this State next week is of vast importance. Even if we lose it we may, and will, carry the general election in November ; but if we win here our success throughout the country is absolutely certain, so that we should leave no honorable thing undone to achieve it.

At a time like this we should look beyond mere success. It is clear to me that a victory of the Democratic party is desirable from far higher motives than any mere wish for party success—it is essential for the good, for the existence, almost, of the country. We have before us an immense task in the reformation of the abuses and corruption which, as men of all parties acknowledge, have crept into the administration of the Government, and it is important that we should have the strength of the great State of Ohio in full and cordial support of the Democratic Administration. I hope to witness a victory of such a nature that no one can say that our party is in any respect sectional. I hope to see all portions of the country so represented in our victorious party that our new President may once more be the President of the whole country, and that an effectual stopper may be forever placed upon the miserable and wicked policy of endeavoring to array one section of the country against another.

I know my country well ; I know my countrymen still better. I am perfectly aware that the South is not precisely like New England ; that the West differs from the Middle States ; that the Pacific slope has its own peculiarities. The various parts of our country differ in soil, in climate, in means of communication, in particular interests. One may be especially agricultural,

another mining, another manufacturing, another commercial ; some, as is the case with this highly-favored State, unite several of these interests. But, my friends, instead of regarding this variety of interests, qualities, and pursuits as prejudicial, or as tending to cause clashing between the different parts of the body politic, we should recognize it as the greatest of blessings ; and we should thank the beneficent God, who brought our fathers to the land, that He has bestowed upon us a country containing within itself all the qualities necessary to constitute a great nation. Yes, my countrymen, the Almighty has reserved for this later period of Christian civilization this last-discovered continent, and has allotted to us the glorious task of working out the greatest of problems under His guidance. Fortunate shall we and our descendants be if we comprehend aright the work before us ; thrice miserable if, with all our boasted intelligence, we fail to understand our mission and our privileges.

These variations or differences, of which I have spoken, are not causes of antagonism, but, on the contrary, sources of strength and bonds of union, if we treat them properly. They correspond to the various organs of the human body—each intended to fulfill its own particular purpose ; each admirable in itself ; each indispensable ; the whole together forming one perfect being, which is necessarily crippled by the injury or destruction of any one of the parts.

You may liken them, if you will, to the wheels, shafts, and pinions that form a machine, a mill, or a reaper. You all know how the parts of these machines differ—some small, others large ; some of wood, others of iron ;

each having its own separate work to do. You know also that if the machine or the body is to do its work perfectly you must keep all the parts in order and insure perfect harmony in action.

Just so it is with the States and regions of our country. It is the interest and necessity of each that all the others should prosper and enjoy peace and good government. In such a country as ours anything that affects injuriously one portion inevitably reacts upon all the others. It is a natural law from which there is no escape, and he must be willfully blind who fails to see it.

Now, in your families and in your business associations what do you do in order to insure peace, happiness, and prosperity? Why, you find it necessary to respect the rights, feelings, and interests of others at the same time that you defend your own. You find a certain amount of concession and consideration for others absolutely necessary to make life endurable. In fact, the whole fabric of government and civilized society is founded upon the principle that each individual must give up a certain portion of his individual rights and property for the benefit of all. In paying taxes, in obeying the laws, he differs from the savage in this, that he respects the rights of others and agrees to abstain from doing certain things which our religion declares and experience has shown to be injurious to other individuals and to society at large. This is the basis of civilization. Now, why do you submit to taxation and to the restraint of the law? Simply because you know that it is for your own good, and that without the protection of the laws this earth would be a very hell. If what I have stated be correct, and I do

not think that any one will venture to insult the good sense of the American people by denying it, it follows that it is the duty of the Government and the interest of all the people to treat all portions of the country with perfect justice and place them upon perfect equality. It also follows that it is the interest of the North to do everything in their power to restore prosperity to the South in the shortest possible time, if for no worthier reason, at least that they may as soon as possible relieve us from a larger portion of the expenses of the Government than has been in their power of late years.

Here let me pause for a moment and say, what you all know, that the great, almost the sole, purpose of a government is to protect the individual citizens in their rights of person and property. The less a government goes beyond this simple duty the better. The best government is that which is least felt, confines itself most closely to its legitimate duty, and performs it most quietly.

The work of government cannot be performed without money, and it is the business of the people to decide, through their Representatives, how that money is to be raised, and how much of it there shall be. The people have the right to demand, and it is their duty to insist, that all portions of the country shall be equally cared for and protected; that the public money shall be expended in the most frugal manner—never, save for the legitimate purposes of governing; and that honesty shall prevail in the administration of all public affairs. Every dollar that is extravagantly expended is taken from you; every dishonest official robs you.

For it matters not how the Government revenues are raised (whether by internal revenue taxes or by customs), it comes directly out of your pockets—either by increasing your direct taxes or by forcing you to give a higher price for every article you buy, the rents you pay, etc. Not one of you, I do not care how poor he may be, can flatter himself that this subject of extravagant or dishonest expenditure is no concern of his. It affects every one of you; for each of you pays his full share, in some way or other; either by increased expenditure or diminished income. Nor does the evil stop here. The direct question of expenditure is one of the least of the evils involved. The great danger, the flagrant wrong, is in the general demoralization, dishonesty, and immorality produced among the people by the dishonest and extravagant administration of the national affairs; for herein is the greatest danger that can threaten a free people.

It has been the fashion to denounce standing armies as the greatest enemies of freedom. No standing army ever long oppressed a people worthy of freedom, and the worst standing army that ever existed was innocence and virtue itself in comparison with an army of corrupt officials in the midst of a free people. The honest men among our political opponents acknowledge and deplore the existence of deep-seated corruption in our national affairs.

I lay before you a question which you can answer for yourselves. How is the needed change most likely to be accomplished? By the party under whose unchecked control these abuses have grown up, and who never breathed the word reform until alarmed by

Democratic successes, or by that party whose leader has not hesitated to combat abuses and achieve reform within the ranks of his own party?

Why was it that nothing was seriously done to discover abuses, prevent their recurrence, and promote economy until a Democratic House of Representatives came into power? By whom were the efforts of the Democratic House checked? We do not claim that every Democrat is honest; but we do claim that we have punished dishonesty in our own party, and, therefore, the country can rest assured that when the power passes into our hands, we may be trusted to reform the administration of the General Government. We do not for one moment suppose that the Republican party is composed mainly of bad men. I, for myself, can say that some of the friends whom I most respect and admire belong to that party. But we do say that the long possession of unchecked power has led to the inevitable results of demoralization and corruption; that bad and selfish men have too often come to the front, and that they have obtained so strong a hold upon the organization of the party, that the country can hope for no radical and satisfactory change, unless another party assumes the rein of government. If you are interested in some business company, and find that your agents have involved you in great difficulty by their extravagance, and perhaps dishonesty, what do you do? You do not trust their promise of reform, but at once remove them, and replace them by others, whose ideas of business are in accordance with your own, and whom you can trust. So ought it to be with the affairs of government. When the people find that one party has

plunged into extravagance, and that too many of their officials are corrupt, the only effectual remedy is to remove that party from power, and confer it upon their opponents.

But let me return to the relations between the different parts of the country.

The purpose of the vast majority of those who entered the army, especially at the beginning of the war, was to preserve the Union and uphold the supremacy of the General Government over the whole land. The question of slavery hardly entered then into the minds of those who fought. As the war progressed that question, slavery, came to the front, and general emancipation ensued. I accept, and the Democratic party accepts, the result and its consequences, viz., the negro's right to vote and his equality before the law. We intend, when in power, to protect the negro in his right of suffrage, of political equality, and full security of person and property. The States once in arms against us have accepted these same results, and have been readmitted to their full standing as members of the Union. Since the war I have met great numbers of Southern men, and do not remember a single one who did not honestly accept the new situation. That there have been instances of disturbance in the Southern States since the war is true; but they have been confined almost entirely to those States where the influence of the officials of the General Government is most marked, and are very rarely found in those where the whites predominate and can control.

But the great question for the present is simply whether the Southern States are in the Union. If not,

we have miserably failed in the objects of the war. The Republican leaders insist upon waving the "bloody shirt" as the banner of their party. We of the Democracy are content with the glorious Stars and Stripes, under which so many of our best and bravest willingly gave their lives for their country. For what did they fight and die? It was that not a star should be erased from our grand old flag.

What did those slain heroes, what did you, my countrymen, mean and understand by a union of the States? Was it a union of brute force; a union such as that of Servia and Bulgaria with Turkey? Far from it; it was a union of hearts, of common interests, of brotherly love, of mutual confidence and respect. We looked upon our antagonists as misguided men, who fought bravely for a mistaken principle. We understood that disruption of the Union meant ruin and continuous strife. Our purpose was to break down by armed force, since no other way was practicable, the armed opposition to the Government, and, when that was done, to pursue the policy so unhappily cut short by the untimely and horrid death of the lamented Lincoln—a policy of conciliation and kind feeling, of protection, of forgiveness. Can any one in this country doubt on which side Mr. Lincoln would stand to-day had he been spared by that wretched assassin's hand? Against a foe in arms no course is practicable save that of meeting him in arms. When that enemy is defeated, it is in accordance with the precepts of Christianity, with the commonly received sentiments of civilization, with soldierly honor, with self-interest, to treat him with mercy and humanity, even if he is a stranger, a

foreigner, a rival of a different race. How much more, then, if he is a fellow-countryman and a brother? How, then, shall we characterize the conduct of men who, in order to distract attention from the corruption so rife in their party, strive to treat the defenseless South as if still in rebellion, and who do their worst to rekindle the fires of national animosity? Fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, as honest men and good citizens, it is our duty to see that the results gained by the war are not imperiled by the machinations of those who endeavor to excite the dangerous passions of national hatred and distrust. It is our duty to do all in our power for the common good of the country by the prompt establishment of friendly feeling and confidence. It is our duty so to conduct ourselves towards our recent foes that, while assuring them that we intend to protect the negro in his acquired rights, we may give them good reason to love the Government and the flag as we do. Unless such a policy is pursued, unless we become a united people at heart, I look forward with dread and apprehension to the future. Some of the Republican leaders seek to raise the phantom of a "Solid South" governing the country. But we ask, what has made a "Solid South" but the oppression and injustice of Republican carpet-bag rule? And how will you break up this "solidarity" of suffering and misery except by removing the causes which have produced it? One would suppose, from what these gentlemen say, that during the war none but Republican soldiers fought on the side of the Government, while the Democrats all remained at home and opposed the war! The refutation of that slander I leave to you, merely remarking

that, with very few exceptions, the men who talk in this way were those who stayed at home themselves. One would suppose, too, from what they say, that there was danger that the "Solid South," in combination with a small Democratic minority in the North, would rule the country for some traitorous purpose. In the present Congress there are, from the States that remained loyal to the General Government during the war, one hundred and ten Democratic Representatives to eighty-five Republicans. That does not look much like Southern control !

From all the information I have been able to obtain, I believe that the South only desires peace and quietness. Treat them justly, let them manage their own internal affairs for themselves, do not interfere with them so long as they keep within the limits of the laws and the Constitution, and you will soon find that they know how to conform to the laws, and that they have the same interest in peace and good order that you have. Put a stop to the meddling interference of corrupt Government officials, and it will soon appear that the negroes will divide themselves between the two parties, and that the danger of a conflict of races has disappeared. As soon as the sectional question is finally obliterated from party discussion, and the whites of the South are left to themselves, they also will naturally divide into two parties upon questions of general policy, and we will have there, as well as in the North, the healthy and necessary check that two political parties afford in a free country. Every consideration that should influence patriotic men—generosity toward a defeated but gallant foe, self-respect, the peace and

good of the entire country, the national strength and honor, self-interest—all demand that we should stamp out this wretched effort to keep the Southern States in a condition of servitude and dependence. They are now once more our fellow-countrymen and our friends. In the name of all that is just and honorable, let us not treat them as Russia did Poland ; let us not create and maintain a festering sore of hatred and distrust, that would, of itself, deservedly ruin our country ; but let us treat them as brave and honest men, who mean what they say, when they declare that they desire to be loyal and law-abiding citizens of our common country. Trust them ; treat them justly and generously, and you will never have cause to regret it. Treat them as so many of the Republican leaders would have you do, and you leave a legacy to your descendants productive of far more evil than all the good you have done them, immense as it is, in your unsuccessful strife for the unity of the country.

My fellow-citizens, my fellow-soldiers,—The success of the Democratic party means an earnest and successful effort to reform the abuses under which we suffer, to reduce the expenses of the Government, to put a stop to corruption, to confine the operations of the Government within its proper limits, to complete in its fullest sense the restoration of the Union, so long delayed by bad men, and to restore prosperity to the country. In Governor Tilden we have a thoroughly honest man, of large experience and rare ability, who, in his own State, and within his own party, has accomplished the very purposes for which we now need him at the head of the General Government. In what he has already

accomplished he has proved beyond question that he possesses the energy, integrity, perseverance, and ability that all acknowledge to be needed in our President. When elected he will use every power of his office, every quality of his nature, to restore the good old times when honesty and frugality were the rules; to make us once more a united nation, and to bring back the prosperity we so much need.

In regard to the most eminent man who occupies the second place upon the Democratic ticket, it is surely unnecessary for me to say anything here, where he is so well known. Suffice it to say that he confers honor upon the place, and that it is a most happy circumstance that gives us, in the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, the highest qualities of the citizen and the statesman—the most spotless reputation.

On the other hand, the success of the Republican party necessarily means the continuation of the very same system under which the country has suffered so much, and I sincerely believe that another four years of the same rule would ruin us beyond redemption, and leave of this once glorious country not even a wreck worth preservation. Let them succeed, and it needs no prophet's eye to see stalking in their train the long procession of the demons of discord, sectional hate, civil strife, corruption, dishonesty, and ruin. Listen to the insane and rabid utterances of so many of their leaders; remember the efforts they made to cover their corruption by stirring up the worst of human passions; remember, too, that they have no word nor feeling of charity and kindness for any who differ from them, and tell me then whether I am wrong. Yes, my friends,

the only possibility of a change for the better is in the success of the Democratic party.

And you, my fellow-soldiers, united to me by the memory of the trials endured in common for our country's sake—ties which nothing can ever sever, memories that no lapse of time can destroy—I entreat you to consider what I have said and honestly believe. Do not permit party prejudices or the appeals of selfish or designing men to induce you to think for a moment of approving a policy that will surely destroy all the grand results for which you fought, and for which so many of our comrades gave their lives. Let not our last hours be embittered by the spectacle of a discordant and ruined nation ; but when we in our turn are summoned to take our places in that long column ever marching steadily toward the far-off and unknown land, may God grant that our last thoughts of earthly things may be that the battles of our earlier years were crowned with complete success, and that we leave our children citizens of a united, powerful, and prosperous nation ! God grant that future generations be not forced to say that, having bravely won the prize, we lacked the manhood, honesty, and ability to preserve it !

SPEECH AT READING, PA.,

OCTOBER 26, 1876.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS,—If there is any spot in the world where I can feel perfectly at home, it surely must be in my native State of Pennsylvania and in this stanch old county of Berks, that is always so steadfast in its adherence to the sound principles of the Democratic faith. There is sometimes an agreeable excitement in being surrounded by enemies, but it is much more pleasant to feel that there are none but warm friends about one, and that sensation I fully enjoy at the present moment. When I traveled yesterday through the magnificent valley—so richly endowed by nature, so wonderfully cultivated by the hand of man—that leads to Reading, I knew that I would find at my journey's end a fine and prosperous city, inhabited by ladies of exceeding beauty and by true and warm-hearted men ; but I was not prepared for the wonderful display of feeling that greeted me on my arrival. I can find no words to express the impression it made upon me. It touched me in the innermost recesses of my heart, and so long as I live I cannot forget that spontaneous evidence of regard for one so long only a quiet private citizen of the country. From my heart I thank you

for it, and trust that no act of mine need ever deprive me of that place in your love and confidence that I am so proud to feel that I possess. I am really somewhat at a loss to know why I was urged to come here to-day, unless it were that I might have the pleasure of seeing the bright, honest faces of the Berks County Democrats, and of finding out for myself how vast their number is. Surely, at such a time as this, it is unnecessary to collect speakers to arouse your enthusiasm—that you have in yourselves abundantly—enthusiasm and confidence. I suppose, therefore, that the chief purpose in assembling you here to-day has been to perfect your organization, to enable you to interchange opinions with each other, and to discourage your opponents by showing them, on the eve of a great election, how numerous and confident you are. Would that all the counties of my native State were like Berks! We should have easy work before us. As that, unfortunately, is not the case, you must do your best to make them so, and each one of you should exert himself, in the short interval that is to elapse before the election, to excite similar enthusiasm among our political friends in other counties, to confirm the strong, strengthen the weak—if any such there be among the Democrats—and, above all, to leave no honest means untried to reach the good and honest men among the Republicans, and convince them that it is their duty to act with us in the coming election.

THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

I very much doubt whether I have anything new to say to you. The main questions at issue before the

people are few and simple, and have been so often and fully discussed that I cannot hope to throw any more light upon the subject than you now possess. But as neither you nor I would be quite contented if I left you without saying a few words upon the subjects that just now fill our brains and hearts, you will pardon me if perhaps I weary you by a repetition of things often said in your presence. To my mind, there are just two great questions now before us, which involve and contain all the others. One is the question of Reform, the other that of the Union. I do not propose to enter into the details of either of these vast subjects. I have not the time, and probably not the ability. You would not have patience enough to listen to the long story. When I use the word Reform, I employ it in its largest sense, as covering and applied to the whole subject of the civil administration of the General Government; the enactment of just and equal laws; the raising of revenues, and the expenditures of the Government; the questions of extravagance and dishonesty in the conduct of affairs throughout all the grades of Federal officials in all the branches of the public service; the punishment of those derelict in duty; the number of officials, their duties, mode of appointment and discharge; the strict observance of the letter and spirit of the Constitution; the general financial system; the encouragement of commerce and trade; the opening of new markets for our manufactures; the removal of unnecessary and unjust restrictions upon various industries of the country. I might mention many more branches of the subject; I name these merely to show you that the word Reform, so often and sometimes so

carelessly used, applies to a vast variety of subjects, for in my opinion we need changes in regard to many things before we can hope to prosper. So, too, in regard to the term Union. I understand it as referring to those numerous points that have grown out of our war for the Union, the changed relations between the various parts of our great country, and the duties of each part to all the others. So far as my present purposes are concerned, I shall not detain you long on either of these subjects.

THE NEEDED REFORM.

The question whether reform is needed admits of no discussion, for that necessity is admitted by the true and honest men of both parties. The only question is as to how we shall be sure to get it. The Cincinnati platform of the Republican party avowed the necessity of reform, but they take good care to say little or nothing about it in the canvass, and a great many of the Republican leaders who have been most active for a number of years in bringing about the state of things which we all deplore seek to cover and evade the questions at issue by virulent abuse of all their opponents and by the continuous flaunting of their wretched "bloody shirt" in the faces of a disgusted people. The only possible evidence of sincerity in their professions of reform is in the respectable personal character of their candidate for the Presidency; but any sensible man who observes that the most active and influential workers in the canvass are the very same leaders who have guided the party, and with it the country, into the sad condition in which we now find

ourselves, must see that it is certain, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that, should the Republicans succeed in the coming election, these same leaders would retain their old control of the organization of the party and continue in the same path they have so long followed. Numbers of the ablest, best, and purest of the old-time Republican leaders clearly see, and as openly avow, that there is no possibility of reform within the Republican party, and that it is to be sought only within the strong arms and true hearts of the Democracy. I need only mention Charles Francis Adams, who unites in himself the virtues and ability of three generations of eminent patriots; Trumbull, that Senator worthy of the best days of the Republic, who sacrificed himself rather than give an unjust vote when his party demanded the conviction of President Johnson; Doolittle, Godwin, and so many others who are so well known that I need not dwell upon them. But, standing here on Pennsylvania soil, I would fail in my duty to my State and to myself did I not unite with you in offering the most hearty welcome to one most eminent son of the Keystone State, whose love of country and sincere patriotism have brought him into our ranks. I need not tell you that I refer to Andrew Curtin—the War Governor of Pennsylvania—the man who occupied the proud and most important office of chief of our State during the whole of the civil war.

GOVERNOR CURTIN.

It affords me the greatest pleasure to say here to a Pennsylvania audience, that I had frequent occasion during the war to know what stuff Governor Curtin

was made of. Differing from him in politics, I found him ever a courteous gentleman, never extreme or bitter in his opinions, able and energetic in the execution of his high office, and so broad and liberal in all his views that, when duty was to be performed, he knew no distinction of party. To Democratic soldiers such as Hancock, Franklin, John F. Reynolds, Black, and that one who now addresses you, he ever gave full and cordial support. I am glad to have a fitting opportunity to acknowledge this, and to say that I feel all the more sure that my party and I are right when such a man as Governor Curtin unites his fortunes with ours. But I have permitted myself to digress further than I intended. I only desired to mention the opinions of some of these brighter ornaments of the Republican party in its better days, to show that we are correct in thinking that the necessary reforms cannot be hoped for under the Republican party, and that you may be gratified and encouraged in inviting the attention of your Republican acquaintances to examples so fit to follow. Remember that these gentlemen not only express the opinion that no good thing is to be expected from the Republican party, but also that we are to be trusted, and that they do expect a change for the better under our rule.

WHY WE FOUGHT.

We, of the North, went into the war because the Southern States took up arms to enforce the right of secession, and with the purpose of preserving the Union by forcibly preventing that secession. We must bear in mind that the majority of the Southern people had

received a different education on this point from ourselves. They had been taught to believe that a State had the right to secede when it thought fit, and that the allegiance of each individual was due first to his State, next to the General Government. We in the North had been educated in the contrary doctrine. It was clear to us, and I think that few men in the South will now deny the correctness of the view, that the doctrine of secession involved the weakness and ruin of the country, and that our safety, strength, and prosperity depended upon the strength of the bonds which formed the Union of the States, and that that Union was and must be indissoluble. Both parties were equally honest in their convictions. Tried by the stern logic of events it has proved that we were right and the South wrong. When the actual fighting ceased we were in a position to enforce whatever demands we chose to make, and the South had no alternative but to conform to those demands, which certainly were full and ample. The result was the complete abandonment of the doctrine of secession and the settlement of the negro question upon the basis determined by the extremists of the North. Not content with this, the Republican party—I should rather say the extreme radical wing of it—have insisted since the war, and still insist, upon pursuing a course which promotes discord in the South and throughout the entire country, which has prevented the Southern States from regaining their old prosperity, and thus reacts directly upon Pennsylvania and all the Northern States, simply for the purpose of retaining party ascendancy. Now look for a moment at what the aban-

donment of the doctrine of secession means. It means that there is no legal way for a State, no matter how much it may be oppressed, to escape from the Union. There is only one possible way—that is armed revolution, and that way is not within reach of the South.

ARE THEY IN OR OUT?

The Southern States are either in the Union or they are not. If they are, then they are entitled to the same treatment as Pennsylvania and New York; they have the same rights and privileges, and are under the same obligations. Moreover, as we have brought them back into the Union by force of arms and deprived them of the means of leaving it, even if they should desire to do so, we are bound by every consideration of policy, self-interest, justice, and generosity to be so careful of their feelings and interests as to make their position in the Union a pleasant and desirable one, for there can be no strength in such a Union as ours unless all the parts are on perfect equality, are prosperous and contented, and can retain their self-respect. If the Southern States are not in the Union, then the sacrifices of the war were in vain, and there is no logical alternative save to regard them as subject and conquered provinces, to be repressed for all time by the stern control of military force. I cannot believe that any American can be so lost to shame, so devoid of love for his country, so wanting in the common feeling of charity that distinguishes man from the brute, as to advocate the last course I have mentioned. But, my friends, there is no middle ground—it must be the one thing or the other. I, for my part, am sure that the just and

generous course is the only safe and wise one. I am entirely satisfied that we have but to remove from the South the meddling and often unconstitutional interference of the General Government, leave them to their own course, simply holding them responsible for their conduct under the Constitution and the laws, just as we would any Northern State, and we shall find that peace and good order will prevail there quite as completely as in any other portion of the country.

The policy I advocate is that of the Democratic party ; that of the Republicans is the opposite. I cannot doubt which my countrymen will choose if they consider the subject dispassionately and calmly. It is impossible that we men of the North can forget the fact that our own ancestors and those of our recent antagonists worked, fought, and suffered together to lay the foundations of that Government under which we live ; that Washington was a Southerner ; that Jefferson called Virginia his native State ; that so many of our wisest statesmen and purest patriots were from that section of the country for which simple justice and kind treatment are now invoked.

SPEECH AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

OCTOBER 28, 1876.

AGAIN, my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia, it is my pleasant duty to thank you for a reception that might well turn a stronger brain than mine. Once, some fifteen years ago, when on my way from the mountains of Western Virginia to assume command at the endangered capital of the country, you met me on my journey and encouraged me, more than I can express, by the kind feeling and confidence you showed me. Some years later, and again to-night, you have proved that, although I hold no official position, very many thousands of Philadelphians still honor me with their regard. To you who are assembled in the hall, and through you to the thousands I have met to-night, I offer my earnest and heartfelt thanks for your kindness, prized all the more because it comes from those among whom I was born. You know, my fellow-citizens, that I do not seek occasion to thrust myself upon the public notice. I am here to-night only because I think that the present condition of the country is such as to render it incumbent upon all who have the general interests at heart to use every effort in their power to correct the evils under which the people suffer. That

the country is ill at ease and the reverse of prosperous will be denied by no one. It is patent to all that enterprise is at a standstill, that the great iron interests of this State are in a condition of great depression, that the grand commercial marine that once carried our products and our flag over every sea has practically disappeared from existence. Every interest has suffered, and, saddest of all, vast multitudes of honest, willing, and skillful operatives and laborers, who would be only too glad to accept any honest work that would keep their families from starvation, seek in vain for employment at any price. The causes of this state of things are manifold, but prominent among them is misgovernment, and that we have been misgoverned of late years few intelligent and honest men will deny. A long war is certain to produce great convulsions in all branches of trade and industry. The government and people of France, since the close of the disastrous German war, have given to the world a noble example of the effects of wise and consistent economy. The French have not as yet formally and officially resumed specie payments; nevertheless, long ago their paper money was at par, their credit admirable, and all their industries in a prosperous condition considering the financial state of Europe. The reason of this is, that the government and people have practiced strict economy. While all the great and necessary purposes of government have been amply provided for, their army enlarged, re-armed, and re-equipped, vast systems of fortifications constructed, the ravages of war repaired, the country is still rich and prosperous—more so than victorious Germany.

Before the successful termination of our war it was evident to many wise men, and should have been clear to the Government, that we were in a period of inflation and extravagance, to be followed by a revulsion just as surely as night follows day. It was the duty of the Government to prepare for and provide against this by all the proper means at their command. The number of officials should have been reduced and all the expenditures to the lowest point consistent with an efficient administration of affairs. The army and navy and the civil branches should have been brought back to a peace establishment as rapidly as possible. Not an unnecessary dollar should have been expended. The burden of taxation should have been lightened, and no attempt made to anticipate any considerable portion of the national debt. Exhausted as our people were by the numerous and inevitable burdens of the war, it ought to have been considered enough for this generation, who had so liberally paid their share in blood and suffering, to meet promptly and fully the interest upon the debt. The attempt to anticipate and pay the principal involved a vast increase of taxation, which was an almost intolerable burden upon the nation, and crippled or destroyed many branches of industry. With the natural increase of the population and wealth of the country, and with a return to prosperity in the South, it will be possible in a few years to meet the principal of the debt quite as rapidly as any reasonable person can desire without resorting to any system of taxation that will be at all oppressive to any of the interests of the nation.

AN HONEST ADMINISTRATION.

It is unnecessary to say to this audience that at all times, and especially after a great war, the people have a right to demand of those they place in power not only a wise and economical, but, above all things, a thoroughly honest administration of the duties confided to them, and that officials shall never forget that the powers with which they are intrusted are to be used for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of individuals in office, their friends, or their political party. The people have a right to expect that their government shall be national, not partisan. Woe to the people who neither comprehend nor enforce that right! So also in regard to the questions that grew out of the war—in regard to the relations of the General Government with the States once at war with it. I shall not discuss the propriety of the terms imposed upon the seceded States. They have accepted and still accept them; the Democratic party accepts them as final and irrevocable. They are ample and complete. They settled every point at issue. They contained the complete abandonment of the doctrine of secession, and the complete settlement of the negro question. So far as was thought necessary by the party in power they received the sanction and guarantee involved in their declaration in the form of Constitutional amendments. Slavery was the cause of the difference between the two sections; it has disappeared forever, and now their interests are, or should be, identical. Generosity requires that we should deal

gently with a gallant antagonist when he is thoroughly overcome. Justice demands, now that we have brought them back into the Union, that we recede back to them all the privileges of the position, while demanding the fulfillment of all its legitimate obligations. I believe that many of the leaders of the Republican party who have heretofore shaped its policy, and will continue to do so, should the party remain in power, have been forgetful of their obligations to the country, have placed personal and party interests above those of the nation, and have connived at and participated in corruption. No change for the better can be expected under Republican rule. But I believe that it will be otherwise under that of the Democrats, especially with such a leader as Samuel J. Tilden, who has proved more than equal to every duty imposed upon him, who has fought and conquered wrong in his own party, who has refuted every slander that malice has inspired against him, and whose last admirable letter so completely wins the approval of every honest man in the North and South. I am sure that this Centennial year is destined to be remembered as that during which all obstacles were removed that interfered with the complete harmony of the States, when the last traces of the great civil war were obliterated from the hearts and minds of all true Americans, when that newer, firmer, and better Union was inaugurated, which shall, in the second century of our nation's life, lead us to heights of power and happiness that we do not even dream of now. I trust that when our descendants meet in the City of Brotherly Love to celebrate the second Centennial anniversary of our country's birth they may have

just cause to recall with pride how you completed and crowned the great and beneficent labors of the year by moving in the front rank of those who crushed forever the last attempt to prevent the real and full restoration of the Union.

SPEECH AT BOSTON, MASS.,

NOVEMBER 2, 1876.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—I cannot comprehend how any American can stand within these historic walls without intense emotion. [Applause.] Within the ample limits of this New World, extending from pole almost to pole, from the vast Pacific to the stormy Atlantic, containing within itself every variety of climate, the grandest works of nature and representatives of almost every branch of the human race, there is perhaps no one point so closely associated as this with the struggle for human liberty and self-government—none where the voices of true statesmen, great orators, and sincere patriots have so often resounded in words that shall live so long as the English language is known among men—ay, yet longer, perhaps! So long even as there are men who prize and struggle for liberty and progress. I have heard the theory broached that no sound ever ceases, but that every spoken word, whether idle or of solemn import, after it has become inaudible to our mortal ears, travels ever onward upon the waves of sound into the unlimited realms of space, and shall not cease until that last day when the sons of men stand at the bar of their

Creator, when every word that every mortal has uttered shall make itself heard as a witness against him or in his favor. If this theory were true, and science could find the means to deflect and bring back to us all that has been spoken in this hall, there would be no need for me, no need for any of us, to raise our voices here to-day. We should listen to the Adamises, Hancocks, Warrens of a century ago, pleading in impassioned tones the cause of liberty and union, and urging our fathers by resistless arguments to take up arms against oppression, tyranny, and misgovernment; we should hear the echo of the first shots fired in that war, which gave us a place among the nations of the earth; we should hear the glad shouts that welcomed Washington and his comrades when they entered Boston upon the heels of the retiring British.

Later on, we should listen to the voices of the younger Adams, replete with wisdom; of Everett and Choate, among the dead; Adams and Winthrop, among the living; of Sumner and so many others who devoted their lives to the cause of emancipation; some denouncing the Constitution as a covenant with hell, and placing the cause of the negro above all other considerations; others, more moderate and wise, desiring to accomplish their object within the Constitution and the laws. But clearest and loudest above all should we hear the trumpet tones of that most illustrious of modern orators, Daniel Webster, raising high above all things, and against all opposition, the cause of the Union and the Constitution bequeathed us by the wisdom and forbearance of our fathers. The century that has just elapsed has been for us a very remarkable one. During

its passage we have established our independence beyond peradventure; we have grown from a small number of weak colonies—too often discordant, and united by no strong ties—into a great nation of forty millions of people; our dominion has leaped from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the borders of the Gulf to the shores of the Arctic Ocean; we have passed successfully through the ordeals of foreign and civil wars; we have made wonderful progress in the arts of peace, and in the sterner pursuits of war; we have given a secure asylum to the oppressed and the aspiring of all the nations of the earth; the blot of slavery has been forever removed from among us; and the fatal doctrine of the right of secession, held by a numerous class of our people, has been permanently and effectually obliterated. Much, very much, has been accomplished; but, as must ever be the case in human affairs, our work is not yet completed, and more remains to be done to secure the full benefit of all that has been achieved.

My friends, it is with sincere diffidence, and not of my own volition, that I venture to lay my opinions before you, for I am well aware of the superior ability of those who have so often discussed in your presence the great questions at issue.

But there are times in the history of every nation when every true patriot should willingly bear his part in the political struggles of the day.

I do love my country [applause and continued cheering], and as, when the dreadful sounds of civil war aroused us from the long slumbers of peace, I did not hesitate to bear my part in the struggle, and honestly

do all in my power for my country, so, too, now when I think that we are in the midst of a solemn crisis in our national affairs, I could not refuse to obey the call of those who thought that some words from me might serve the cause I have so much at heart. [Applause.] Although the stirring associations connected with this spot might well deter me from appearing here, yet there are other considerations which render it not inappropriate. For I, too, claim direct descent from those Pilgrim Fathers whose children laid the foundation of this time-honored building upon the rock which is no unfit emblem of the strength of their principles. Moreover, I was told that I should meet, among the audience gathered here to-day, no small number of those brave veterans who, under my command, upheld so gallantly the military reputation and civic virtues of their forefathers. For both these reasons I feel that I have some little right to stand here, unworthy as I may be.

What is the mission of our country, and how can that mission best be accomplished? I am one of those who believe that no nation can rise or fall except in accordance with the will of the Supreme Ruler of the universe; that so long as a nation conforms to His will it prospers, and that when it fails to do so He shatters it as He did the Egyptians and Israelites of old. It is certain that His purposes are often so hidden, His means of action so concealed, that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, for the limited intellect of man to understand His ways; but it is sometimes the case that a close study of history, and a careful examination of existing facts, may give us a clue to His designs. This nation stands alone

upon the surface of the earth ; the pages of history show nothing like it. Unknown, save perhaps to a few wandering, storm-tossed Norsemen, too weak to avail themselves of their discovery, too ignorant to recognize its importance or to impart it to others more favored than themselves, this vast continent remained hidden by the broad curtain of the Atlantic until, in the fullness of time, the adventurous Genoese, in his crazy bark, developed to the wondering gaze of the Old World the fact that beyond the stormy sea, so long the terror of the most adventurous navigators, there lay another world, rich in all that tempts human greed, in all that can gratify the highest aspirations of man. Mark now the time when this greatest of human discoveries took place. It was when the thick pall was at last uplifted that had so long weighed down upon Europe, after the dismemberment of the Roman Empire ; when the inroads of nations of barbarians had ceased ; when the descendants of the Teutonic tribes, the Gauls, the Longobards, the Goths, had assimilated to themselves something at least of the civilization of Greece and Rome ; when the last blow had been given to the Moslem power in Western Europe, and it was finally settled that the great mass of Europe should be held and governed by Christian nations ; when the arts and sciences had once more revived and were attaining a degree of splendor perhaps never before equaled, and in some regards hardly since surpassed ; when free thought in its noblest sense began to assert itself ; when the elements were ripe for the continuous struggle about to commence between the divine right of kings and the heaven-given prerogative of the people ; between des-

potism and self-government ; between the mere form and the true spirit of religion ; between the absolute power of the Church and the rights of conscience of the individual ; in other words, the still unfinished contest for religious and political freedom. It was by no mere chance that that most memorable voyage of Columbus occurred at a time when the maritime and commercial activity of Europe were so largely developed and the great nations abounded in intelligent and adventurous men capable of availing themselves to the full of the new discovery. It was not, I repeat, through mere chance that Columbus lived and sailed when he did ; it was because the fullness of time had arrived, and the purposes for which the Almighty had reserved this continent could at length be fulfilled.

Look, now, at the different courses of policy pursued by the various nations which colonized this country, and see the results. The colonies of Spain, France, and Portugal were all governed in accordance with the strictest principles of military and political despotism ; individual freedom, self-government, toleration, were not for a moment permitted, and, where they dared raise their heads, were remorselessly crushed to the earth. The Spaniard unhesitatingly put to the sword all who dared differ from him, and boasted that he thus did God good service ! The French pursued a less cruel but equally effectual course. It was only where the British colonists set foot, with their well-settled ideas of self-government, of education, of religious and political freedom, that true prosperity, strength, and progress were attained. It is too true that many of our good Pilgrim fathers were among the

least tolerant of men ; but this abnormal condition lasted only until they were well assured that power was so firmly fixed in their own hands that they were in no danger from the interference of others in regard to their dearly prized religious and political convictions.

Contrast the results ! With scarcely an exception the countries once Spanish colonies present at the present day a most discouraging spectacle. Ignorance prevails among them ; anarchy and revolution are almost their normal condition ; and they have yet to show that they are fit to govern themselves, and to insure their own tranquillity, good order, and happiness. The French colonies attained so little innate strength that those on the main-land fell at almost the first blow dealt by a mere handful of a more vigorous race, or were sold to prevent their capture. How is it, then, where the British race has held control ? On our northern frontier is the prosperous Dominion of Canada, where a kindred people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and self-government, a republic except in the mere name, education widely diffused, sound prosperity prevailing, and rapid progress made from year to year in strength and wealth. Contrast this in your own minds with the condition of Mexico and Cuba, and you will find that the causes of the difference are not far to seek.

But when we turn to our own favored land, what do we find ? Within a century we have grown from a handful of scattered colonists to a mighty nation which, in the arts and sciences, in inherent strength and magnitude of resources, is the peer of the greatest of the nations of the Old World. Our population is made up

from all the races of Europe ; all living in wonderful harmony, and gradually fusing into a mass that shall form a nation whose characteristics it will require generations to determine, and which we can now only guess at. Our people are generally well educated, and the time will soon arrive when the public school-house will be found in every remote part of our wide domain. The great vexed problem of the relations between Church and State has been most happily solved by complete and absolute toleration of all religions, so that the rights of conscience of the humblest of our people are entirely secure. Any one residing among us may possess himself of all the rights of a citizen, and may aspire to any office or employment, save one, within the gift of the people, and even to that one, the highest of all, any native-born citizen is eligible, however humble his origin. [Applause.] It seems clear to me that among the great purposes which the Almighty has in view for this country is the formation of a new people, made up of many races, so united and fused as to combine the best and highest qualities of all ; among whom self-government shall prevail under republican institutions ; where education shall extend to all ; where peace, charity, forbearance, and good will shall rule ; where the various sects and branches of the great Christian Church shall dwell together in harmony and peace, recognizing the fact that since no two men are exactly alike, therefore no single form of worship can be devised that will suit all men, and that, while they hold the same simple essential and fundamental doctrines of Christianity, they may differ as friends in regard to mere forms of wor-

ship and Church government, and at the same time work together as brethren in the common cause ; and, at last of all, that our country may not only remain a safe asylum for the persecuted and afflicted of other lands, but may ever shine forth, as a beacon upon a high place, showing to the world that education, virtue, and religion will enable men to govern themselves wisely and well, and that a republic is the best form of government for those worthy of it. If I am correct in what I have stated, we can expect the continued aid of that God who buildeth up and casteth down nations only if we pursue a policy in accordance with His designs.

I think that if our people listen to one of the political parties now contending for supremacy, we are in danger of following a course that will more than jeopardize all the good things our forefathers bequeathed us, and will plunge our country into difficulties so serious that I, for one, can see no sure and safe escape. I will not weary you by referring to the many points at issue between the two parties ; they have been too often discussed in your hearing. In regard, for example, to that great question as to whether the administration of the Government has been corrupt and extravagant, and therefore needs reform, and whether it is possible to obtain, under the party now in power, that reform which all good men acknowledge to be necessary, I feel that it would be almost impertinent in me to say anything before a Massachusetts audience, who know so well the opinions held by that real statesman, that most worthy representative of a long line of illustrious ancestors, that relic of a better age, Charles Francis

Adams. I am more than content to leave that subject in the hands of one who has so grandly shown that devotion to the country he has served so well is, with him, superior to all mere party ties. I am proud that my country possesses such a citizen ; but I should be filled with shame and regret could I feel that the good men of the party with which he formerly acted could hesitate to give to his reasons and conclusions a fair, honest, and unprejudiced consideration. But there is one point in regard to which I feel compelled to speak to you briefly, but most earnestly. That, as you may readily divine, is the subject of the relations between the two parts of our common country recently in arms against each other. The direct cause of the war was that the Southern States asserted their right to secede from the Union, prepared to maintain that asserted right by force of arms, and actually fired upon the flag waving over Fort Sumter. The indirect cause was doubtless to be found in the institution of slavery, for it was to protect that institution against certain real or imaginary dangers that they resorted to secession. On the other hand, the North took up arms to prevent the South from seceding, and to force them to remain in the Union. Congress, by its solemn act, declared that to be the purpose of the war, and it was to carry out that purpose that the great mass of the Northern people, without distinction of party, took up arms. You men of Massachusetts, who freely gave so many of your best and bravest for the country, know only too well that the war was long, well contested, and bloody. Its results were that the South was exhausted and crushed, the right of secession abandoned forever, slavery abol-

ished, the negro raised to the level of the white man so far as all the rights of citizenship are concerned.

I doubt whether all the direct and indirect objects of any war were ever so thoroughly and permanently accomplished as by the war in question. Our antagonist was so completely in our power that he was obliged to concede all that we demanded. We demanded and obtained everything that the most extreme partisan could desire, and I think we ought to be satisfied ; for we obtained every possible indemnity for the past, and every imaginable security for the future. All the old issues are obliterated, and there is no possibility of their revival. [Applause.] Every Southern State has fully accepted the results of the war ; that is, the abandonment of the doctrine of secession, the emancipation of the slaves, their right of suffrage, and their full equality before the law. More than eleven years have now elapsed since the last hostile shot was fired, and it is a most suggestive and convincing fact that in those States where the whites have obtained full control, such as Virginia, Georgia, and Alabama, there have been no outrages upon blacks, or disorders of any kind, more numerous or more heinous than similar occurrences in the Northern States. In those Southern States where, under carpet-bag rule, disorders and persecution were said to occur, it is most singular that they ceased as soon as the whites came into power. Take, for example, Arkansas for the last two years ; it has been as orderly and quiet as Massachusetts. In Mississippi, also, the change was miraculous. It is another suggestive fact that these alleged outrages always take place just before the elections [applause and laughter] and cease as soon

as they are over. This would indicate that if our white brethren of the South are responsible for them they must be the most idiotic and reckless of men, which I do not quite believe. [Applause.] Take also the recent reported disturbances in South Carolina. After an attentive reading of all that I have seen in the papers, I can make nothing of them, except that they were commenced by Republican negroes for the purpose of deterring any of their fellow-blacks from voting the Democratic ticket, and have been availed of by the Administration at Washington as an excuse for placing the State under martial law. I maintain that our experience since the war proves that the great mass of the whites at the South can safely be intrusted with the management of their own affairs [prolonged applause], and that their conduct obliges us to concede that they have sincerely accepted the changed condition of things. Before the war the institution of slavery created a sharp line of demarkation—a wide chasm in fact—between the interests and policy of the slave-holding States on the one hand, and the free States on the other. But with the final disappearance of slavery that chasm has closed, and I am at a loss to conceive in what respect the interests and policy of the Southern States can hereafter differ from those of other States similarly situated in regard to commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. They are no longer united by the firm bands of a common property in slaves, and can only be kept together as “a solid South” by the still stronger bands of community under suffering, wrong, and oppression; if left free to follow their own interests they will be divided by the inevitable diversities of local interests and situa-

tion. It is surely unnecessary for me to say to such an audience as this that it is the first duty of a government to guard the rights and interests of all its citizens, of all parts of the country, and to insure peace and good will throughout the land. It is unnecessary for me to say that it is the interest of each portion of the country that all the others should be at rest and prosper. In a manufacturing and commercial community such as this, surely every child knows that it is your interest that the best relations should exist between you and the South, and that prosperity should reign throughout that great market for your wares.

But let me return upon my steps. I have shown, I hope, that your well-being is inseparable from that of the South ; that it is your duty to protect and do justice to that portion of the country ; that the Southerners can be safely trusted ; that all necessary causes of separation and difference have been forever obliterated ; that all the direct and indirect objects of the war have been permanently settled in favor of the North. [Loud applause.] What more can I say ? Nothing, save this, that it is idle for us to hope for the blessing of God upon our nation if we do not adopt a policy clearly in accordance with the principles of Christianity and with the destiny He has marked out for this country. That policy and those principles require that we should do what we demand of our late antagonists—forget the past and accept the situation of the present ; that we should recognize the fact that the States once opposed to the General Government are again in the Union and entitled to all the rights and privileges of their natural position. They have given ample guarantees, they have

conceded everything : and we should be worse than savages did we not do our part and use every effort to restore the kind feeling and mutual trust, without which our Union must be a mere rope of sand. I deny the patriotism and good faith of those who for party purposes, or from personal feeling and interest, strive to keep up a feeling of national hatred and distrust. If our country is to fulfill its destiny, if we are to continue in the path of progress, if we are to leave to our children a free and happy land, we cannot too soon restore fraternal feeling and community of interests between all the parts of the nation. [Applause.] But there are present here many to whom I would especially address a few words—my comrades of the war. [Prolonged applause and cheers.] And through them I hope to meet other of my fellow-soldiers who are not in the hall to-day.

Comrades, fellow-soldiers! You of all men know best for what purpose you took up arms, when the cry rang through the land that our flag had been fired upon. You know that it was to protect that flag, to prevent the secession of the Southern States, to preserve the Union, to insure the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of the General Government over our entire territory, that we rushed to arms, and stood side by side—Democrats and Republicans, thinking naught of party lines—and did our best for our country. You know full well that it was only to preserve the Union, not to oppress the conquered South, not to reduce the whites to that condition of slavery from which we liberated the blacks, that we so often met the foe in battle. Our great purpose was to give our lives, rather than see our

country divided, and the future of the nation utterly destroyed. We saw that it was better for us to die in battle than to stand quietly by and leave for our children such an ignominious and wretched future as would certainly be in store for them if our country were broken up into warring and discordant fragments. [Applause.] As I have already said, there came with the close of hostilities the final settlement of the questions of secession, slavery, and the political rights of the negro. There remains the great, the real object for which we fought ; that is the complete restoration of the Union, not only a union of government, an acceptance of the Constitution and laws by all parts of the country ; but a true union of hearts, of brotherly love, which will induce each one of us to combat for the rights of all the others, and to stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder, in the defense of the country and of all its citizens. [Applause.] You of all others in the land—not only you who listen to me, but all our comrades throughout the country, all the warriors of so many well-fought and bloody fields—are bound by every consideration to ponder this matter well and to throw your active influence into the scale on the side of patriotism and justice. Unless I entirely mistake the sentiments of the grand Army of the Potomac, there was scarcely one man in it who did not feel that the work of war was done when the last enemy laid down his arms and gave ample guarantees for the future. During the war you acted, as I of all men know so well, the part of good soldiers, and when the war was over you desired still to enact that part.

What is a good soldier ? Why is he regarded through-

out all the world with admiration and respect? A good soldier is one who, without any care for himself, devotes his life to a cause which he regards as just and righteous. [Applause.] He is a man of truth, and of the highest honor; he is brave in battle, thinks not of wounds and danger; and in the hour of triumph is merciful and forgiving towards a fallen foe. Whose are the names that have come down to us in history as the noblest specimens of mankind? Brave, skillful soldiers, who, when victory is achieved, forget all rancor, and show naught but kindness and forgiveness to the conquered. [Cheers and prolonged applause.] Who have been held up as the execrable monsters of the human race? Those miscalled soldiers, in whom triumph only serves to excite and aggravate the worst of passions; those who murder defenseless prisoners, women and children, sack captured cities [cries of "Butler," and laughter], and repeat the horrors of Attila and his barbarians, Tilly at Magdeburg, Alva in the Netherlands.

My comrades of Massachusetts, you belong, I know, to the class of the truly brave and noble warriors. It is not in your nature to persecute a valiant but fallen enemy in a spirit of brutal vengeance. [Applause.] For the honor of my country I regret that so many of the Republican leaders are doing their best in the present campaign to excite a feeling of national hatred and distrust. If they succeed, and carry their policy into practice, you will find that the purposes for which you fought are further from accomplishment than ever. The breach between ourselves and our recent antagonists will widen every day; race will be at war against

race in the South, and the safety of the nation more than ever endangered. If the Democratic party is successful you will find that the notorious abuses in the administration of the Government are reformed ; that peace and harmony are restored ; that while the negro has his full rights, those of the white man are also recognized ; that happiness and prosperity will again prevail throughout the whole of our country. Our candidate, Governor Tilden, is a most honest and able man, of large experience, and fully fitted for the duties of the high office to which we hope to elect him. He was a staunch supporter of the war, and possesses every claim to your confidence.

I am very happy, my comrades, to meet so many of you face to face once more. As of old we so often stood side by side in face of the great danger that then threatened our country, so I trust and believe that in this time, of perhaps even greater peril, we shall again be found in the same ranks, under the same grand flag of the Union, working and striving in harmony for the nation's good. I have said what I had to say, and entreat you, by the recollections of our common past, to think calmly over it.

Men of Massachusetts, New Englanders ! You should be the last to forget the glorious memories and associations of the past, and the first to devote all your energies to the work of building up a new and stronger Union for the future. The first battle fought in the war of the Revolution was in sight of the spot on which we stand ; the last, upon the soil of Virginia. When a hostile garrison held this city, the patriot army that lay upon the bleak hills around it was commanded

by the great Southerner, the greatest of Americans. During that memorable war the soldiers of New England fought side by side with those of the South ; in the Continental army Northern and Southern generals alike commanded. In the councils of our young nation, Hancock and Jefferson, Adams and Henry alike took part ; alike staked life, fortune, and honor on the result. In that war, and in that civil strife, which I sincerely pray may be the last that our country shall ever see, you played so great a part, so many of your children sacrificed themselves for the country, so many more displayed the highest attributes of heroism, that you can well afford to be just and generous. No man can gainsay your motives, or impeach your patriotism ; and it becomes you well to bury forever all feelings of animosity, and extend in all sincerity the right hand of fellowship to your recent adversaries. Proud as is the laurel crown that adorns the brows of the New England veteran, prouder and more noble still is the civic oak-leaf wreath that you will win for yourselves by sternly refusing every attempt to prolong a feeling of hostility, and by taking to your hearts those of your fellow-countrymen who once warred against us, but are now defenseless and at our mercy. [Applause.]

As in war you gained all for which you fought so bravely, so now, in peace, it would in this Centennial year be a most fitting tribute to the memory of those fathers of the country whose glory is our common heritage to preserve the prize by magnanimity.

SPEECH AT ELMIRA, NEW YORK,

NOVEMBER 3, 1876.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS,—When I accepted the invitation to address you to-day, I was assured that I was so fortunate as to possess many warm friends among your citizens and also among the Republican as well as the Democratic soldiers, all of whom shed so much lustre upon the name of the Empire State during the recent war. I need not say that their promises have been more than fulfilled.

I am here to plead the cause of that party upon whose success I believe the best interests of the country depend. Under such a form of government as ours, it is not only right, but absolutely necessary for the safety of the country, that there should be two political parties.

The human mind is so constituted that no two men are precisely alike in their opinions, dispositions, and motives. The Almighty in His wisdom has seen fit to make us so, just as He has made no two trees, no two animals, absolutely identical.

In a large community it is inevitable that men should range themselves under various opposing banners. It is generally the case that in the great principles of

government the main issues affecting the well-being of the nation are of such a nature that the great majority of the people naturally form themselves into two separate camps, between which the lines of demarkation are more or less clearly drawn, as the questions at issue are more or less vital.

Each of these parties is necessarily composed of the same variety of elements that make up the entire body of the people.

There are those who from selfish motives or from strong prejudices subordinate the interests of the country to those of their party. Again, there are those—and I think by far the larger portion—who act with their party only because they regard it as best fitted to control the nation, and who, in any great crisis, will abandon their own and act with the opposite party, if convinced that by so doing they will serve the best interests of their country.

This class of fastidious men fully comprehend that the good of the nation should never be subordinate to the interests of a party and its leaders. They understand that it is best for all concerned that the two parties should serve as mutual checks, and that if that one with which they have habitually acted should by too long and too absolute a tenure of power become careless of its obligations to the whole country, it is their duty to exercise their right and privilege as disinterested patriots and throw their influence in favor of the other to restore the equilibrium of the body politic. Under the most favorable circumstances, it is difficult for any party to retain power for so long a period as sixteen years without losing, to some extent, the purity

and unselfishness that the country has a right to expect ; and experience has shown that it is best for the true interest of all concerned that the party controlling the Government should occasionally be changed as a security against carelessness and corruption.

It is more than probable that the best condition of affairs in our country is when the parties are so nearly balanced that there shall be a strong and vigilant minority in Congress constantly opposing the policy and acts of the majority, checking them in regard to extravagance or dishonesty, and ever ready to profit by any fault they may commit. Even under such circumstances it will be found that before the lapse of many years the people will demand a change, as essential to their interests. The case we have in hand is far different from this. The party has for years, and until a year past, held control so absolute that it can fairly be said that no effective minority existed. And what have been the results? We might well rest our case upon the utterances of such Republicans as Charles Francis Adams, that patriotic man who in the most trying time of our history so wisely, broadly, and well upheld our cause at London ; to Andrew G. Curtin, the Republican governor, who presided over our great sister State of Pennsylvania during the whole of the war ; to Trumbull and Doolittle, those giants among so many wooden pigmies in the Senate, and to many other good and noble men who love their country better than they do their party. I cannot see how any true man can read what these men say without reaching the conclusion that the time has arrived for all good and honest men to think no longer

of party, but only of the peril of their country. These men declare that the party with which they so long acted, and which they so much admired, is no longer worthy of confidence—that it can no longer be intrusted with the control of the country, and that the Democratic party, purged by disaster, is worthy of confidence, that its policy is right, and that it ought to be called to the government of the nation. They assert that it has been too well proved that the administration of our Government is corrupt and extravagant, and that in order to preserve their power, many of the most active leaders of the Republican party have not scrupled to do their worst to maintain a feeling of animosity between the whites and blacks of the South, and between the whole North and the whites of the South. In brief, that in order to maintain their personal and party ascendancy, they do not hesitate to sacrifice the present and future welfare of the country. My friends, I believe that everything these gentlemen say is true to the letter.

Fortunately for the country, there arose in the minds of a vast majority of our people some two years ago the profound conviction that the Republican party was unfaithful to its trust, and the result was the election of a Democratic House of Representatives for the first time in many years. Democratic members of that House devoted themselves faithfully and unceasingly to the work of retrenchment, the discovery and punishment of abuses and corruption, as well as their prevention for the future. Unfortunately, the Senate and all the executive departments of the Government were Republicans, who exerted all their energies and all the

means at their command to thwart the efforts of the House and secure themselves, so that, far from affording that co-operation which true patriotism demanded, they did their best to withhold information and render these efforts abortive. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the House to fulfill their mission and accomplish their work as completely as they desired.

Enough was done in spite of all obstacles to prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that extravagance and corruption ruled far too wide for the honor of the nation. Their sturdy efforts in favor of economy were not entirely in vain, though badly thwarted by the opposition of the Executive and the Senate. In the Republican Convention at Cincinnati the only Cabinet officer who had ably and boldly fought the good fight of honesty and reform was rejected almost with contempt when his name was brought forward as a candidate for the Presidency.

The men who made the largest and strongest fight for the nomination were those whose names were most prominently associated with the policy that has brought the country to its present sad condition. At length when these men found that their mutual animosities would prevent the success of any one of them their adherents united in a compromise, which resulted in the nomination of a very respectable gentleman.

But he owes his nomination to them; they control the organization of the party and have been the most active participants in the canvass, so that, whatever his personal feelings may be, Governor Hayes, if elected, must necessarily give these same men the most prominent places in his Cabinet and Government, and they

will, as heretofore, control the party, and pursue in the future the very same policy they have followed in the past.

In their platform they acknowledged shortcomings of the Government and avowed the necessity of a change for the better ; so much they plainly saw was a necessary concession to the good men of the party. But what have they done in the canvass ? We hear no more confessions of the abuses of the past. We hear no more reform, and, my friends, if they are successful in the election you have heard the last of it for another four years, and great as is my confidence in the resources of my country, I doubt whether at the end of four years we should have anything left worth reforming.

What are the issues these men now make through the country ? What are the strings upon which they play ? What are the sentiments to which they appeal ? and what are the arguments which they think sufficient for the intelligence of the American people ?

They deal entirely in virulent slanders against the Democratic party and its great leader, who, I am proud to say, has more than refuted and repelled every calumny they have so industriously circulated. They insult the integrity and intelligence of at least one-half of the people of the North, by charging that in the hands of the Democracy, the party of economy and reform, the national credit would be less secure than with that party, the extravagance and corruption of whose leaders are confessed by all of the honest men of their own party. Instead of seeking to allay forever, as any patriotic man would do, whatever of angry feeling may remain as the effect of our recent

war, they do their best to increase it beyond the highest point it ever reached during the conflict. Far from urging the fact that the great issues of that war, secession, emancipation, and political rights of the negro, are things of the past, settled forever, and the only thing remaining to be done is to restore peace and prosperity to our whole land, to present to the restored members of the Union the free exercise of all their rights, while they are held to the performance of all their duties, making no difference between any of the sovereign members of the Union and establishing a stronger Union than ever, they do their best to excite feelings of distrust and bitter hatred, to render our Union precarious, and to retard the restoration of prosperity through the land. Because it seems more than probable that the Democrats would gain a peaceful victory in South Carolina, the General Government have sent into that State all the available troops of the regular army, pretending that atrocious and treasonable conspiracies existed, and that grave disasters were to be apprehended. While, on the other hand, we have the conclusive evidence of the Republican mayor, of the Republican judges, numbers of the most respectable business men of the State, and last of all, of that most honest and clear-headed gentleman, Senator Randolph, of New Jersey, that there is no foundation whatever for the charges made in the President's proclamation as the basis of his action.

My friends! this same thing might just as well have been done in New York. It is only a question of power; and it is just as much your duty and right to protest against it in South Carolina as if it had been

attempted in Elmira. I doubt whether you would like it here, and you must remember that every violation of constitutional right is as much your concern in one part of the country as another.

If you allow one instance of this kind to pass unrebuked, you will soon find it repeated somewhere else.

In the good old days of the Revolution, our forefathers did not wait for the blow to fall upon their own colony, but each recognized the fact that the good of each was the good of all, that the peril of one was the danger of the whole.

So also with regard to the extraordinary course reported to have been pursued within the last few days in Louisiana—that of arresting large numbers of men upon vague and unsubstantial charges, and refusing them a hearing until after the election, in order to deprive them of their votes. I do not think that act can commend itself to any of you, no matter to what party you belong, and you must remember that if it can be done in Louisiana, it may with equal propriety be attempted here. If you disapprove, as I cannot doubt you heartily do, of the action in Louisiana, you must express your disaffection and prevent its establishment as a principle of misgovernment by the only means in your power—that is, by using your privileges at the ballot-box to drive out of office those who connive at and practice such abominable things.

Unless the newspapers do them great injustice, some of the Republican leaders have expressed the opinion and belief that Mr. Tilden's inauguration will not be peaceably permitted, and can only be effected by deluging the streets of Washington in blood.

I cannot believe it possible that any American can be so debased as to hold such opinions, or so biased as to utter them. But if it be true that such words have been uttered, it is the duty of every true lover of his country to record his opinion of them by his vote, and to drive ignominiously out of power the party which such men control.

If Mr. Hayes would be elected, no Democrat would dream of opposing his inauguration. We are a law-abiding party, and recognize the right of the majority to rule.

But if Governor Tilden is elected, as I am sure he will be by an overwhelming majority, he must and shall be inaugurated, and any attempted opposition would be swept away as chaff before the wind. I have referred to these things only to show my Democratic friends that it is necessary that each one of them should use every effort in his power to make our majority as large as possible, and also with the hope that some of those of the Republican party, whose patriotism is greater than their party prejudice, may be led to believe that it is to their interest and duty to oust out forever men capable of entertaining feelings so unnatural to Americans.

The people of this country have now to choose between two parties, one of which has brought about the evils under which we suffer, and has never, as a body, taken any steps to correct them; the other being pledged by every tradition of its past history and by every hope for the future to put a speedy end to them. Those who feel that reform is necessary, are in my judgment wholly mistaken if they expect it under a

continuation of Republican rule, for the same leaders who have directed the policy of the party will continue in power if the people decide that party shall have another lease of office.

That reform may confidently and surely be expected under Democratic rule, is proven by the fact that their leader has already successfully striven for it within his own party—the most certain test of honest intentions and real ability of the party to fulfill its promises to the nation.

In regard to the vital question of the treatment of the Southern States, it seems to me there is no room for argument.

We of the Democracy hold that when the last shot was fired in our civil war, and the seceded States accepted every condition imposed upon them,—emancipation, the negroes' right of suffrage and full citizenship, the abandonment of the right of secession,—the war was over, and that it only remained to restore to the States once in arms against us all the rights, privileges, and duties under the Constitution and laws.

I do not care to discuss the past treatment of the Southern States, except so far as it will throw light upon the future. I maintain that in spite of all vexations of carpet-bag rule, in spite of repeated unconstitutional interference of the General Government, in spite of distrust, oppression, and poverty, induced or aggravated by misgovernment, the experience of the past eleven years has proved not only that the whites of the South can be safely trusted to conform honestly and fully to the obligations of their new positions, but that it is only by trusting them, treating them kindly,

and doing our best to restore kind feeling between all parts of the country, that we can accomplish that real, hearty restoration of the Union which was the true purpose of the war and which ought to be the chief object of every good citizen.

A contrary course, that advocated by so many of the Republican leaders, can only delay indefinitely the complete restoration of peace, and at the same time that it provokes ill feeling throughout the land, retard for years that prosperity and progress which we have so much at heart. I am very sure that if we could obtain the calm and honest opinion of those who fought for the Union in the war, the decision would be almost unanimous of declaring the war at an end, while all its objects have been accomplished, and in insisting that the men who fought so gallantly against them in a mistaken cause now should be treated in every respect as brethren and fellow-countrymen. I am sure that my comrades will pardon me for saying to them that it is now quite as much their duty as brave soldiers and good citizens to protect their now defenseless foe, and to put an end forever to their miserable attempt to prolong in peace a state of feeling hardly creditable even during the war, as it was to meet and overcome the South in arms.

The surest test of a true soldier is his conduct toward the enemy he has lately conquered. None of you, my fellow-soldiers, will display feelings of revenge toward the brave but now unarmed men who once fought you so stubbornly and whom you so gallantly conquered.

In this State I need not dwell upon the claims of Governor Tilden to the support of the people. I will only

declare my entire confidence in his ability and fitness for the Presidency, and state my firm conviction that every Democrat will give him full and cordial support.

But I cannot close these brief remarks without a word in regard to that distinguished citizen of Elmira who is our candidate for the office of Governor of the State. Pure and above reproach in all the relations of private and public life, a true gentleman of most distinguished ability and large experience, he has shown in his public career that with him country is far above party. I am confident that the bright example of Lucius Robinson will incite every Democrat to renewed activity, and induce many honest and patriotic Republicans to consider well what and how great are their obligations to their country.

My friends, there is but one step now to battle and assured victory. Remember that no good soldier regards the victory as secured until the enemy is in full retreat and the field of battle won.

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